

A

000061465



LOS ANGELES REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY

University of California



459

RECORDS OF THE JEWS IN ROME,
AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS FROM
ANCIENT CATACOMBS.

PART I.—FROM THEIR EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE
PERIOD OF THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF LIVERPOOL.

NOVEMBER 18, 1895.

BY

B. L. BENAS.

Stack
Annex

5

115

998

To Dr. Friedlander
with esteem regards
of the writer
Dec 22/96

RECORDS OF THE JEWS IN ROME, AND THEIR
INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANCIENT CATACOMBS.

PART I.—FROM THEIR EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE
PERIOD OF THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY.

WHEN I stand before such monuments as the Tower of London, or the walls of Chester, I cannot help mentally expressing a wish that the stones might become vocal, and echo some of the phases and incidents that have occurred since the day they left the quarry to become mute witnesses of history. So I felt when I watched the demolition of the Ghetto, or Jews' quarter, in Rome. With the carting away of the *debris* there is an end to a district in the City of the Seven Hills full of classic and archaeological interest. It represents an unbroken history and tradition of upwards of two thousand years.

Whilst the present Roman citizens are only Romans from the fact of having been born, or being descended from those who for some generations have lived, in the metropolis of Italy, ethnologically they are so mixed up with Neapolitan, Longobardic, Vandal, Hun, and Gothic, as well as Spanish, Austro-German, and French infusions, that it would require a very powerful microscope to detect any original blood of the Roman of the republic or of the Cæsars. The Roman Jews are the same family unchanged, and identically the same in race, as those that lived on the shores of the Tiber at the period of the

Consuls. They still repeat their Hosanna, Selah, Amen, and Alleluia as they did when they first settled there more than two thousand years ago. If anyone would have dared to tell a Patrician of ancient time that in subsequent ages his descendants would repeat with religious unction what they then called the unmeaning jargon of these tribal Jews, his predictions might have been subjected to the keenest ridicule.

The Roman aristocrats may have looked upon these early Palestinian settlers in their city very much as now a resident in Hyde Park or Belgravia might upon a few Parsees who, though white men, have spiritual traditions differing altogether from those of the commonwealth. Yet the Roman Jew has outlived the Consulate, the Empire, the Vandal and Gothic invasions, the supremacy of Charlemagne, the temporal power of the Popes; has seen the rise of a Rienzi, the Avignon and Roman schism, the Napoleonic kingdom of Rome, the ephemeral Republic of 1848, the Austrian and French occupation, a Garibaldi and a Victor Emmanuel, with Rome once more the metropolis of Italy,—the final result of these changes and vicissitudes being that the political Roman world has to-day approached *him*, and extended him the hand of political equality, brotherhood, and citizenship. Notwithstanding the wear and tear, persecutions and sufferings of later centuries, the Roman Jews are certainly to-day as vigorous physically as any other community in the capital, and according to reliable statistics their hygienic condition and longevity is undoubtedly higher, and they have a remarkable immunity from the distempers of a malarial climate; and although in later centuries they were compelled to inhabit exclusively the most insalubrious and insanitary portion of the city, they have enjoyed average good health, have robust and vigorous

progeny, and are proud, like our Anglo-Normans, of dating back to an ancient period of their history.

I propose to sketch some of the phases and incidents in the life of this interesting colony in the Roman metropolis, not only from the traditional, congregational, and synagogal records, but from the epitaphs of the necrological inscriptions found in the Catacombs of Rome. Some of these, discovered lately, abound in historical and archaeological interest.

The first point we have to determine is how, when, and by what means the people of Palestine first came into commercial contact with the Roman capital.

The earliest authenticated evidence is the mission that Judas Maccabæus sent to the then rising republic, asking for a friendly alliance against the Syro-Hellenes, who were then endeavouring to crush the Jewish commonwealth out of existence. The mission may not have been unlike that in modern times of Benjamin Franklin to the Court of Versailles asking French aid in support of the struggling American colonists. The friendship of Louis XVI to America was no doubt dictated less by an admiration of the political ethics and aims of the Puritan colonists than from a desire to weaken the growing and rival power of Great Britain. So it may have been at that period with Rome. The successors of Alexander of Macedon were expanding the power and traditions of the Greeks to such an extent, and over so wide an area, that for some time it was a question whether the world would become Hellenised or Latinised. Their culture may have been to some extent on similar lines, just as the culture of France and Great Britain are, from an Asiatic point of view, almost identical. Yet, had Hindostan been brought under the sway and political influence of France rather than Great Britain, the current of history would have even-

tuated differently, and a Gallicised India would not be a British India.

The Jews in Palestine were very much favoured by Alexander the Great. He seems to have had a decided partiality for them, their history, and literature. He relieved them from Persian suzerainty, and, through the conquest and destruction of Tyre, opened the way for a more cultured and refined environment. When he founded Alexandria, the Macedonian monarch was keen enough to see that the Palestinian Jews might prove a useful element in the new city, and, inviting a large number of them to settle there, he ensured them absolutely equal rights of citizenship with the Hellenic immigrants. It was there that the Greek and the Jew first began to know each other thoroughly, and involuntarily the virtues and the failings of the two peoples began to act and react upon the individuals of the two communities. The Greek stood supreme in his love of beauty of form, poetry, and music, and in his keen appreciation of the temporary pleasures of life, perhaps from the sensuous and material love of enjoyment for its own sake. The Hellenes possessed that faculty which the French so well express, namely, "*Joie de vivre.*" On the other hand, the Jew was a Puritan. His hygienic condition may have been better, his physique was not so showy as the Hellene nor so attractive, but it lasted longer, it stood the wear and tear of the battle of life, and could survive misfortune without the apathy and reaction of despondency. The Jew, too, had music of his own, poetry of his own, and pleasures of his own, but, like the Anglo-Saxon, took them all very seriously. He reflected too much upon the day after the feast; he failed to give himself the *abandon* of reckless enjoyment of the fleeting hour and the never-heeding-to-morrow of the Hellenic Greek—of what the one

people had to overflow the other had barely sufficient. A perfect type of humanity might have resulted in the amalgamation of the two ideals—the cult of beauty, art, philosophy, and pleasure, with the softening influences of chastity, sobriety, and self-restraint.

The influence of the Syro-Greek was not without its effect upon the Jews. In Jerusalem public games were instituted, the use of floral decoration introduced into public worship, the young men and women of good social standing adopted the Grecian attire, painting and statuary formed the luxury of the homes of the wealthy, and, indeed, the then high priest of Jerusalem, Menelaus, became a too rapid convert to Hellenism, which only tended to bring about a violent reaction. There was a sharp division between the orthodox Puritan Jew and the new Hellenising and reforming Jew. Had these rival instincts been allowed to have fought out their principles *without alien* interference, some compromise might have resulted in a succeeding generation, and the blending of the two schools of thought might have come about imperceptibly; but the Hellenising Jew was in a hurry, and made no allowance for the conservative instincts of the other side, and, to accomplish his purpose with rapidity, the Hebrew Helleniser asked aid from the Syro-Greek to crush his conservative co-religionist by physical force, and to Hellenise him whether he would or not.

Antiochus, the ruler of the Syro-Greeks, delighted to be called in as military occupant, adopted the thorough method, and proposed plucking out the old Hebraic modes of thought by the very root. Deeming the Mosaic Pentateuch and the Davidic and other psalms the very life of orthodox sentiment, he made the reading of the former and the chanting of the latter a penal offence. Bonfires were kindled everywhere throughout the land,

and every scroll of the five books of Moses, and every psalm or hymn book was brought to the public places to be burned. In fact, Hellenism wanted to stamp out Hebraism once and for all, thoroughly and effectually, by brute force, and to destroy every written record of their so-called Jewish sacred scriptures.

This was undoubtedly a most eventful crisis in the history of the Jews. A violent reaction from Hellenism was the result. Whilst for centuries the religious cult of the Jewish people had been carried on by patriarchal tradition, rather than by rigid adherence to words contained in a sacred book—for, indeed, we find periods when the life and religious current of the nation flowed on without even the knowledge of the existence of a so-called sacred written volume, and the Biblical edition by Ezra was but recently making its way. The moment, however, the alien stranger attempted to forbid the possession of the written records of their people, the faithful went to the very opposite extreme, and considered every edition of the scroll of the law of Moses saved, and every psalm secreted or committed to memory, as a divine message rescued. The women of the Jews hid the parchment scrolls of their cosmic and national lore in the folds of their clothing, and risked their lives over and over again to save what they deemed the holy records of their forefathers.

A community that were hitherto respectful to the folk lore of their ancestry, now assembled in caves and hiding places to hear their traditions expounded and explained, and deemed them holy. The uprising of the Assidean youth of Palestine, led by the Maccabean family, marching from victory to victory with the sword in one hand and their sacred scrolls in the other—moreover, against the Macedonian phalanx, then reputed to be invin-

cible—a mere raw peasantry against Grecian veterans, trained and experienced in a hundred combats, naturally led these young enthusiasts to deem themselves a chosen people and the instruments of some special providence.

The result of the rout of the Greeks and Hellenising Jews, who lacked enthusiasm and patience for the ultimate success of their aims, was that a newly kindled worship of the very letter and text, never known before in their previous history, was initiated by the Hebrew Puritans, and has been engrained in their life for twenty-five centuries. On the other hand, had the Syro-Greeks been successful in stamping out every vestige of Hebraic literature, and making it as lost to the world as the *Book of Jasher* and the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, the names of which are all that is left, had the Hebrew Puritans not fought so valiantly, nor the Hebrew women been so earnest in leading their children to combat and in saving their literature at the peril of their lives, it is probable that four hundred millions of people would have had in cathedral, chapel, meeting house, and mosque a very different liturgy to that now in use, and Mount Olympus might have been more frequently mentioned therein than Mount Zion. The physical encounter between the Hebrew and the Hellene at this period appeals very much to the philosophic speculation of what might have happened had results eventuated otherwise.

I have been obliged to bring in this phase of history, by way of parenthesis, to lead up to the why and wherefore, and to the earliest record of the official contact between the Romans and the Jews. Most historians favour the idea that the plenipotentiaries of Judas Maccabeus were the first Jews in Rome, and that several members of the mission remained in the Roman metropolis, and became the earliest settlers. True it is that until the rise

of Alexandria as a seaport the Jew, *qua* Jew, was not known in Europe, or as a distinct people. After that they became better known as the Atheists of Palestine, from the circumstance of their refusing to render homage to any visible representation of the deity. From the contempt with which these strangers looked upon the anthropomorphic ideals of the ancient classic world, they were credited with having no deity at all by many of the ignorant masses, though later on, as we shall show, they became a powerful community in Rome, in turn admired, disliked and envied, and sometimes feared.

It is, however, probable that the Jews traded and lived in Rome long before they were officially known to be there, and I will proceed to explain the reason for supporting that hypothesis.

Now, of all modern European nations, the British people have the maritime instinct most largely developed, their ships are in every port, and their Colonies and settlements are to be found in every quarter of the globe, the English language being the bond of union between the *dissecta membra* of the English speaking people. Side by side our island is another island, the people of which have no love for their predominant partners. I allude, of course, to the anti-English and the anti-Protestant portion of the Irish people.

This section would rather worship in the cathedral of Notre Dame, in France, than in a Protestant meeting house, and yet their masses will not emigrate to nations or countries with which they have absolute religious affinities. The Irish emigrate to the United States and Australia in vast numbers, but not to Mexico, Brazil, Peru, or Argentina. In Canada, although the Irishman may dislike the religion of the Protestant Canadian, and is in touch with that of the French colonist, yet he prefers to reside close

to the English quarter. Nearer home, when he leaves Ireland, he prefers to work at the docks in Liverpool or Glasgow rather than in Antwerp, Havre, Bordeaux or Marseilles.

The only satisfactory solution of this instinct seems to be that the Irish cling to the skirts of English speaking colonies and settlements because of the lingual affinity. A common language seems to over-ride, for practical and colonising purposes, many religious and social barriers and even antipathies. Another point I wish you to examine,—when the average Englishman hears of the differences between Original, Primitive, Calvinistic Methodism, or Established, United or Free Presbyterianism, the lines of demarcation may be quite broad enough for the respective seceders from each community, but to an outsider the points of difference between them are hardly noticeable. Thus, by a Mahomedan in Turkey or in Egypt every Christian is termed a Frank, and he scarcely perceives the difference between a Roman Catholic, an Anglican or a Unitarian, they are all the same to him, namely, Franks; and to the eyes of Chinese and Japanese all Christian denominations are the same, they are all Bible men, just as to the Mongolian all sects of Islam are called Koran men. Now, to the Roman world, all Hebrew speaking people seem to have been considered Phœnicians or Carthaginians—the Hebrew language being the tongue of the Phœnician and Carthaginian; so, wherever Tyre and Carthage sent their ships, there the Palestinian Jew probably followed. True, he had no religious affinity with the predominant commercial partner in the Hebrew-speaking world, and he had separate meeting houses for worship; but the Romans and Greeks could see no difference between the Anthropomorphic speaking Hebrew and the Monotheistic one. Therefore, when the Phœnician

traded to Ostia, the port of Rome, it seems natural to conclude that the Jew went along with the Punic vessels, and may have been both at Ostia and Rome long before the political mission we have recorded. It was only when Rome and Carthage became deadly enemies that the Jew had to declare to the Latin world that, although Hebrew-speaking, he was not Punic. Until that period he may have had no desire or interest to dissociate himself from a powerful commercial and maritime community. Similarly it occurred in modern times that the average Russian moujik, when he heard English spoken, as a rule deemed the speaker an "Anglisk," or Englishman. It was only at the period of the Crimean war that the English-speaking traveller from the United States had to declare that, although speaking the same English language, his own immediate people were not at war with the Russians.

We shall now begin with the accepted historical fact of the first official mission, 160 years before the Christian era. Fifteen years later a second mission arrived from Jerusalem to the Latin metropolis, sent by Jonathan, brother and successor of Judas Maccabeus; and again six years later, 615, Roman era, another embassy, by Simon Maccabeus; and then for the first time the Republic entered into an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance with a non-European state.

From this time the Jews began to settle in the Trans-Tiberian district of the metropolis, and no one knows why they chose this particular portion of the capital any more than why the French protestants chose Spitalfields; the French republicans, Soho; the Italians, Saffron Hill; and the Germans the east end of London. According to Valerius Maximus, the Jewish deputations to Rome made some religious propaganda; though in point of numbers

the Jews were as yet a very small community, still their influence seems to have been considerable.

A large number of Jewish captives were brought to Rome by Pompey, and their co-religionists having purchased their manumission, they became libertini or freedmen, and helped to swell the number of Roman Jewish citizens, the community gradually becoming more important and wealthy. Juvenal, xiv, 105, shows us the reason why Jewish captives were ransomed on comparatively easy terms. He says the absurd custom of the Jews, which deprives a master of the seventh part of his labour, owing to the superstition of keeping a seventh day as a day of rest, and the fact that other slaves pretended to be Jews in order to obtain a day free from labour, made the owners glad to rid themselves of these so-called superstitious strangers. It must be admitted that the Roman masters, as a rule, were indulgent, and rarely interfered with the religious practices of their bondsmen; indeed, the Romans respected sincere religious practices and convictions in all people, although they may not have followed the customs themselves; yet in practice they considered that all religions tended towards the preservation of law and order and were conducive to the well-being of the State, providing the cult taught nothing subversive to the ruling powers.

At the time of Cicero the Jews had already become a powerful, influential, and numerically important section of the Roman citizens.

In *Cicero, Pro Flaccus*, the orator maintains that it is an act of courage on his part to withstand the powerful influence the Jews were exercising when he was defending Flaccus from the many charges brought against him; amongst others, one being that Flaccus embezzled the Aurum Judæorum, which, translated into modern parlance,

is that he misappropriated the Jewish "Peter's pence" destined for the Temple at Jerusalem; these amounted to vast sums of money, coming as they did from all parts of the Empire, and were remitted from the capital to the sanctuary of the holy city of the Jews. The minimum contribution of a Jew to the sanctuary in Jerusalem being half a shekel, one denarius and a half. These sums were collected all over the Roman world and elsewhere, and remitted to the Temple treasury. We can get an approximate idea of the number of Jews outside Palestine by the fact that the Temple treasures seized by Crassus—or, perhaps, what was left after a large portion had been rescued and abstracted—amounted to ten thousand talents, or over $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling of our money.

These are Cicero's words: Now respecting the charge of embezzling Jewish gold, that is the very reason why this trial is held not far from the Aurelian Hall. On account of this complaint, hast thou, O Laelius, chosen this spot and sought these people; thou knowest how numerous they are, how they cling together, and what power they have in our popular assemblies. I will speak with bated breath so that only the judges shall hear me. For there are not wanting individuals who would gladly set these people against me, and against those who seek justice, and I will not facilitate the Jews in their machinations. Now, inasmuch as from all the provinces of Italy, vast sums of gold are being sent to Jerusalem, Flaccus really put a stop to this flow. You judges dare not object to this, for have not the senate themselves passed resolutions deprecating the drain of gold from the Republic. It is but right and proper to hinder and oppose the barbarous superstitions of Palestine; and to show no fear of the Jewish mobs that crowd our public places, is a proof of my earnest convictions. All nations, O Laelius, have their religions

as we have ours. Even when Jerusalem was our ally, and lived in peace with us, yet their singular religious views, and their form of worship, was antagonistic to the glory of our Roman traditions, and to the institutions of our illustrious ancestors. How much the more should we now injure them, when they now oppose in war our Pompey and the arms of the Republic, and does it not appear as if our immortal Gods are vanquished, put to shame, placed under the yoke and subjected to tribute by the remitting of this Aurum Judæorum from the Roman Republic to Palestine.

Cicero shows his remarkable ingenuity and great skill in the defence of Flaccus, and adopts quite the modern, *fin de siècle*, anti-Semitic method, of no case—or bad case—abuse the plaintiff as much as possible.

This extract from Cicero's oration is most important, showing as it does that we have now emerged from mere tradition and hypothesis, and are now standing on a solid historical basis, and gives us convincing proof that whilst but a century before the Jews were scarcely known in the Roman metropolis, towards the close of the republican era they became a power to be reckoned with.* As we have previously stated, and subsequent events will amply prove, that the Roman people and Government were remarkably tolerant of every form of religious belief, always providing that cult was not antagonistic to their rule or to their civic ethics, or gave credence to the idea that the government of Rome could be supplanted by another. The Jews never forgave Pompey for his invasion of their Holy of Holies in the Temple of Jerusalem, a spot only to be visited by their High Priest once a year, on the day of Atonement, and in his struggle with Julius Cæsar, the Jews everywhere threw the whole weight of their

* Dr. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom.*

influence with the latter, and they exerted themselves by every possible means to further the cause of Cæsar and his fortune. At the end of the republican era the Jews of the city of Rome were on good terms with the people and the government, but it was when Julius Cæsar rose to power that they seem to have reached their very culminating point of prosperity, and their congregations had special privileges accorded to them. Julius Cæsar, like Alexander the Great, saw in the scheme of a greater Rome, and not a little Rome, that the Jews would form a useful element. They were interpreters for the many languages spoken in the vast dominions of the republic, they seem to have been brokers, money changers or bankers, importers of wheat, general international factors, and also petty traders. Following, as we pointed out, with loyal fidelity, Cæsar and his fortunes, they laid the foundation of many Jewish congregations in Iberia, on the banks of the Rhine, in Gaul, and perhaps in Great Britain.

Curiously enough history repeats itself in our days in Hindostan, where the Beni Israel, or indigenious Indian Jews, are the most trusted factors in the native Indian army; many of them are Havildars, Subahdars, and Jemidars, upon whose fidelity and adaptability to the climate the British Government can absolutely rely; the shrewd common-sense of the Beni Israel soldier indicating to him that his welfare is bound up with the supremacy of Great Britain. At the same time he forms a convenient link for the British Government between the Mahomedan and Hindoo by his remarkable facility in speaking the many Indian languages and dialects.

The advent of an Alexander, a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Napoleon seems to be the phenomenal production of centuries, yet all these superlatively prominent leaders, with-

out exception, appear to have specially sought out the representatives of the Abrahamic race, and found a sphere of usefulness for their activity in the various dominions which they brought under their political influence.

So thoroughly had the Jews won the confidence of the great Julius, that not only did he grant them the full rights of Roman citizenship in the metropolis of the empire, but he gave their little independent commonwealth in Jerusalem the right to rebuild their fortifications, and place their walls in a perfect state of military defence.

The educated classes of Rome now began to interest themselves in the literature and methods of the community that Cæsar delighted to honour. In the later writings of St. Augustine* there appears a quotation of Varro, a philosopher who lived 47 B.C., and wrote on the archæology of the Romans. Varro observes that, in the early period of Numa Pompilius, the gods were worshipped for almost two hundred years without any images or visible objects of adoration. If this custom had been retained, he says, our Roman worship would have remained more pure. He adds: Look at the Jews; and proceeds to draw favourable conclusions from the spiritual ideal of Palestinian ethics. He goes on to say that those who were responsible for the introduction of images to represent the deity took away the fear of God, and provided the people with the seed of error.

From the writings of Philo we can elicit the fact that the Jews of Rome had congregations recognised by the State, and numerous synagogues in the Trans-Tiberian district. When the Alexandrian philosopher was sent with a deputation to appeal to Caligula to withdraw the edict that his statue should be placed in the Temple at Jeru-

* *De Civitate Dei*, iv, 31.

salem for public adoration, Philo thus addresses the emperor: "It is well known that from olden times the Jews have occupied a large portion of the city of Rome beyond the Tiber, and that they continued to maintain the traditional observances of their forefathers; that they had synagogues, where they assembled on the seventh day to have expounded to them the words of wisdom which they received from their ancestors. . . ."

This gives additional positive historical evidence of the antiquity of the settlement of the Roman Jews, and, furthermore, that their community was spiritually equipped as an *ecclesia* or congregation.

We return to Julius Cæsar. A proof of his solicitude for the well-being of the Jews in the whole of the Roman dominion is evidenced by an edict to the inhabitants of Paros, where some friction seems to have existed. It runs thus:—"Caius Julius to the people of Paros. I herewith declare my displeasure that any decrees should be issued against our friends and allies forbidding them to follow their ancestral rites, and preventing their collecting money for divine worship and their religious services in Jerusalem, inasmuch as they are permitted to do this in Rome, the metropolis, without let or hindrance. . . ."

Suetonius records that of all those who wept for Julius Cæsar the Jews were the most vehement in their demonstrations of grief. He observes that night after night crowds of Jews visited Cæsar's grave, and mourned and lamented the untimely end of their friend and benefactor.

Happily for the Jews, Antony was soon succeeded by Augustus, whose whole aim and object seemed to be to secure social order with a strong hand. He not only confirmed all the enactments of Julius Cæsar in favour of the Roman Jews, but considerably added to their privileges. He permitted them the unrestricted right of free

public worship, owing, as the emperor observes, to the gratitude the Jews have evinced for the protection of the Roman people. He facilitates their observance of the seventh-day Sabbath by relieving them from appearing at courts of justice on that day. He also decrees that distribution of corn to the poor should take place on the day after the customary Saturday, so that the poorer Jews who participated in the relief might not suffer through their Sabbath observance. He forbids any molestation in the collection of the *Aurum Judæorum*, or pence sent to the Temple at Jerusalem, and adds, it is henceforward enacted an act of sacrilege to steal any of the sacred books of the Jews, whether used in public places of worship or in private houses, . . . and concludes with a remarkable phrase, used for the very first time by any chief of the Roman State. Augustus concludes with these words:—
“or wherever or in any place the Jews pray to the Most High God.”

The expressions of gratitude of the Roman Jews to Augustus knew no bounds. They built a synagogue, and named it the Synagogue and Congregation of Augustus, and inasmuch as they dared not render Divine honours to a human being, they instituted the recital of a daily prayer for Cæsar and the Roman Empire. Mommsen calls especial attention to this incident in his *History of Rome*.

The frequent visits to Rome of Herod and the princes of the Herodean family, who mingled freely with the aristocracy and the leaders of Roman Society, caused considerable interest to be evinced in the local concerns of the Jews in the metropolis, though curiously enough—as we shall show hereafter, and this Professor Graetz, in his *History of the Jews*, has brought out vividly—it was not until the temporal power in Jerusalem of the Jews was

abolished that the populace of Rome began to look sympathetically upon the practices of the Judæo-Romans. Seneca remarks, in his *De superstitio*: "So potent is the influence of this contemptible people that they, the conquered ones, have in all the countries where they have been introduced (as captives), given laws to their conquerors." Horace, Ovid, Perseus, and Juvenal complain that in Rome innumerable Roman citizens would do no business on the seventh day; that they refrained from travelling; they fasted, prayed, lit the regulation lamp, decorated their houses with the tabernacle wreaths, and even contributed to the pence, or *Aurum Judæorum*, sent to the Temple at Jerusalem.

It seems singular how the name of "sabbath" has adhered to the seventh day in most countries that were Roman provinces, even after Constantine had relegated the observance to the first day of the week. Thus the Italian still calls the seventh day "Sabato;" the Spaniard, "Sabado;" the French, "Samedi;" the German, "Samstag," and the Greek, "Sabbaton," all derived from the Hebrew *Sabat*, to rest.

In his *Fourteenth Satire* Juvenal laments the decrepitude of the age, the falling away from old republican customs, and the aping by the Romans of the methods of foreign religions, and remarks: "The fashion now seems to be to learn the Jewish laws, and to pay reverence to what Moses teaches in their esoteric scrolls."

At this period those Romans who had lost touch with the cult of Jupiter seem to have crowded the synagogues, and listened to the reading of the scriptures and the singing of the psalms and the orations of the Presbyters, and, although not admitted to the full communion of the Jews, it appears they were

termed God-fearing men. Men that fear God, or Judaizers.*

Though Herod and his sons visited the Roman capital very frequently, yet, as the modern King of Greece on his recent visit to London would probably be more in touch with Hyde Park, Belgravia, and the best sets in the English capital than with the Greek merchants in London Wall, so the Roman Jews preferred to identify themselves with Rome as Roman citizens, rather than court any reflected distinction from the visit of a monarch of Little Jewry. Outside Palestine there were probably as many Jews and followers of the Mosaic code as there were in the dominions of Palestine proper, and there was hardly an important community in the Roman Empire, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Rhine, or from the Alps to the Egean Sea, from Alexandria to the borders of the Persian dominions, where, co-incident with the existence of the temple worship in Jerusalem, the followers of the ten commandments had not flourishing congregations and important synagogues. These Trans-Palestinian Jews were generally advocates of a *Greater Jewry*, not limited by the mere political boundaries of Palestine, and from time to time there seems to have been friction between those in Jerusalem, who thought the temporal power "indispensable" to Mosaism, and the others, who preferred the security and order guaranteed by the Roman laws, and would gladly have incorporated themselves in the Roman political family, surrendered their little kingship to Rome, and secured that which Rome gladly accorded, viz., full freedom for the practice of their ancestral rites and customs. Moreover, the foreign Herodian dynasty evoked no sympathy from the majority of their subjects even in Little Jewry, and the adherents

* φοβουμενοί τον θεον or σεβομενοί τον θεον or Ιουδαιζοντες.

of the Greater Jewry, outside Palestine, positively preferred Rome to the rule of the Herodian foreigners, who by force and fraud had assumed the royal title in Jerusalem.

If one dared give an illustration of a hypothetical incident it might the better show the position we have under consideration. Suppose an Indian Prince or Maharajah had allied himself to British interests, and wielded a powerful military organisation, and in a moment of peril for little England defeated her enemies. Now, going a step further, let us assume that he had his troops in London, and, after saving the city, overturned both the dynasty and parliament, and by brute force sustained himself and his followers in the Windsor and St. James' that once were occupied by such well-beloved monarchs as Elizabeth and Victoria. How little real affection or loyalty would the inhabitants of little England show such a dynasty; the people of greater England, living beyond the seas, perhaps none at all—even though this hypothetical Maharajah might adopt the Anglican form of worship and support the High Church party by lavish gifts and magnificent ecclesiastical constructions. This seems to be, as nearly as possible, the relationship between Jewry and the Herodian monarchy. Little Jewry hoped for some supernatural restoration of their ancient line of kinglets. Greater Jewry could hope for nothing better than incorporation in the Roman Empire, with the continuation of their spiritual power wielded by the Sanhedrin, and the Temple building, with its rites and ceremonies unfettered by matters of kingship or petty state policy.

The Herodians, however, in Palestine pursued the Roman principle of *Divide et Impera*, and were glad to set one school of thought against the other. At the

time of the first Herod in the city of Jerusalem there were over four hundred separate little organisations, each having its religious meetings, some numbering their hundreds, others thousands; many of them deviating from strict orthodoxy, yet each and all paying their devotions at the Temple on the high festivals. It can be well imagined that the quarrels and wrangles between these little factions were at times as fierce as we hear in our own days of attacks made upon evangelists in Cork, or as dangerous as the anti-popery riots in Belfast. The Herodian police, or "*shoterim*" as they were termed, had constantly to interfere to maintain a semblance of order. All this was accentuated under the successor of Herod, Archelaus, who became merely ethnarc of the Little Jewry in Palestine, the country being occupied by the Roman legions, and the civil administration subject to Roman laws. Disloyal and indifferent as the Jews were to his kingship, they could but respect the strength of character and the firmness with which the first Herod ruled over the various factions, and the absolute ordered security of his administration. Archelaus, however, was the very reverse of his father, weak in will and powerless in administration, and under him the various religious factions became ungovernable.

This state of affairs, however, only concerned the Little Jewry in Palestine. In the Greater Jewry, in the various Roman provinces, and in the metropolis of the empire, there was scarcely any deviation from orthodoxy, and the farther off the Jews were from Palestine the less they seemed to be divided into sectional differences, and the more they appeared to accept the decisions of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, as a final court of religious appeal. However severely the arm of Rome was wielded in Palestine, yet in the metropolis of the Roman Empire, and in

the provinces generally, the Jewish congregations were contented to come under the general Imperial laws.

In tracing the influence and character of the Roman Jews upon the Latin population, proper regard must be had to the duality or polarity of the character of the Jewish people. All nations or races possess this characteristic more or less, but it is more strongly developed in the Jew. I must again illustrate this feature. For instance, when I visited a certain town in Holland I saw the walls placarded with notices that a series of temperance meetings were being held, and that numerous very distinguished men were preaching on the advantages of a holy and temperate life. The first thing that it occurred to me to ask my guide was—not whether the place was very pious or a very temperate one—but whether there were not a number of drunkards there, and his reply was what I expected, namely, that those who were not drunkards were very pious and absolutely temperate, and those who were not absolute temperate were very drunken. The duality and polarity of the Netherlanders is also a remarkable feature. There are Flemings who are phlegmatic, lifeless and soulless, and there are Flemings who are artists to the tips of their fingers, exquisite painters, exquisite carvers in wood and stone, and skilful executants in music, all in one and the same people. There is again the German orchestra, where every player is a perfect artist, and who lead the world in symphonic poetry. There is again the German band, which is a reproach and a by-word, every player being out of tune. There is the Italian sculptor who breathes life into marble such as no modern people can do, side by side with the plaster-of-Paris-image man. There is in France a real gastronomic cult, producing the French *chef*, whose art is appreciated in every court and hotel in Europe, side by side with the Gargotier, of whom

it may be remarked, as Mercutio observed of his sword :
 "Heaven send me no need of thee."

So we have the imaginative, poetical, dreamy, prophetic, as well as the unpractical kind of Jew, together with the heroic, the fighting, the swashbuckler Jew, side by side with the ultra-practical, acquisitive and conservatively legal Jew, who is for peace at any price.

The same generation that seems to produce a Karl Marx, the founder and prophet of Socialism ; his greater disciple Lasalle ; and Singer, one of the present leaders of the German Social Democrats, produces also a Rothschild, a Baron Hirsch, a Barnato, a Sassoon and a Ricardo, who, as individualists and orthodox political economists, are prominent exponents of the rights of personal acquisition. The same race producing eminent types of antagonistic principles, the same family seeming to bring forth individualism *in excelsis*, and socialism or collectivism *in excelsis*. Nay, we can pursue this duality or polarity of character in other branches or walks of life. For instance, there have been such Jewish pugilistic champions as Dutch Sam, Aaron-Mendoza, and many other pets of the prize ring when boxing was in fashion ; and there is the meek Jew, who, if his right cheek is smitten, turns the left also.

Again, the same generation that produces a jingo singer like the great Jew tenor, John Braham, who wrote the "Death of Nelson," produced also Henry Russell, a Jew of bucolic tendency, who did not a little to foster emigration to the Colonies by his songs, "Cheer Boys Cheer" and "To the West." A historian failing to take into account the greater or less degree of polarity or duality that exists in the character of the community whose records he examines, is like the astronomer of old, who saw merely with the naked eye, and knew not the use of the telescope.

Thus, whilst Palestine produced Jews in abundance who were warriors, poets, dreamers, philosophers, and thinkers, many of them wandering to Alexandria and Babylonia; on the other hand, in the Roman dominions on the European continent, the Jews seem to have been eminently practical, but *unpoetical*, and *unimaginative*, bent upon material acquisition, prone to mind their own business, and pay their rates and taxes with regular promptitude to Rome, being too respectably dull to trouble themselves about metaphysics. Unlike the Jews in Jerusalem, where there were over four hundred organisations, with at least as many preachers, many deviating from both Sanhedrin and Temple worship—the Latin Jews remained tolerably orthodox, and made very little use of their undoubted ethical influence in the Roman metropolis, except by their exemplary social virtues, which could not escape notice. Friend and foe in Rome unite in bearing testimony to the sobriety and chastity of the Jews; and in a capital where, in Imperial times, profligacy and lewdness was in the air, many a pure and high-minded Roman matron found in a Jewish house an oasis in the desert of immorality, as inscriptions from the catacombs will show.

But the Roman Jews had neither the intellectual capacity, the so-called “go,” nor the poetic fire and imagery of their Palestinian co-religionists. Happily for them, the early break-up of Judaic temporal power in Jerusalem, and the dispersion and emigration of the Palestinian Jews into all the provinces of the vast Roman empire, was a “blessing in disguise” to the Jewish people, although unappreciated at the time by them; for it reinfused into their blood the element which was dying out. It acted upon greater Jewry the same as the mixture of Celtic blood has done in England and greater Britain; it infused the element of poetry, the love of religious cheerfulness,

and the cult of the ideal, all of which was rapidly evaporating from the vast masses of Trans-Palestinian Israel, and enabled them to withstand a subsequent fifteen hundred years of persecution, contumely, and social ostracism.

Lord Acton has assured us that the value of history does not lie in accurate knowledge of what happened, which, indeed, may be regarded as unattainable, but in the scope it gives for solid and penetrative criticism of conflicting accounts. Prince Lobanoff, one of the most eminent Russian statesmen, lately assured M. de Blowitz that every time he had an interview with Lord Granville, the then Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, he endeavoured to record accurately all that had passed between them immediately after the conversation, and he took the precaution the next day to read over the written report, when it invariably occurred that Lord Granville found some things that needed correction.

There is the pitfall before every historian, and he is probably only on fairly safe ground when friend and foe record events on almost identical lines. Now most writings of the Latin historians are full of envy, prejudice, and hatred to the Jews, and accuse them of every imaginable failing *except* that of sexual immorality. On the contrary, in many instances their stern morality, virtue, and constancy are charged to them as proofs of weakness and obstinacy. Tacitus, who has nothing but sneers for the people of Palestine and their absurd traditions, has admitted their morals to be above reproach, and remarks that no Roman woman had to suffer indignity from Jews, and that the bodies of the men are healthy, and such as will bear great labour.*

I must revert to the reign of Tiberius. That the Jewish population in Rome continued to increase in vast

* Tacitus, *Account of the Jews*, Book v, cap. 5, 6.

proportions is evidenced by the quotation that Mommsen gives us (vol. iii, p. 549) of the remark of a Roman governor: that he was always careful to stand well with the Jews in the provinces he had to administer, otherwise he ran the risk of being whistled at and hooted by mobs of the lower classes of the Jews who abounded in the Roman metropolis; and we read* that at about this period, after the death of Herod, when a deputation of fifty elders arrived in Jerusalem, and when they were received in audience by the Emperor at the Temple of Apollo, they were joined in procession by eight thousand of the influential Roman Jews.

Sejanus was, however, indisposed towards this growing influence, and began to take severe measures to uphold the cult of Jupiter, banishing a large number of Egyptians and Jews to the island of Sardinia. After the death of Sejanus, however, Tiberius was so convinced of the groundlessness of the charges brought against them, that he reaffirmed all their rights, and issued an edict to all the governors and pro-Consuls that the Jews were to be left unmolested, and the free exercise of their ancestral customs to be guaranteed.

During the reign of Caligula, the celebrated deputation of Philo of Alexandria went to persuade the Emperor to remove his effigy from the Temple and Jewish places of worship generally, for whilst it may have been congenial to Latins and Hellenes to deify an emperor, it was always contrary to the genius of the Hebrew race to render divine honours to any born of woman. The death of Caligula and the advent of Claudius removed this difficulty, and in an edict to the Jews he remarks that whilst he confirms the right to follow their accustomed ritual and observances, he entreats the Jews not to despise the superstitions of

* Josephus.

other—but to be content with following their own—ordinances. This may have reference to the incipient proselytizing zeal of the Ebionites, who for a considerable period were classed by Romans as Jewish Sectarrians.

An incident of the time of Nero, described by Josephus, speaks for itself. He says in his biography: “And when I had thus escaped, and was come to ‘Dicearchia,’ which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth. Through his interest I became known to Poppea, Cæsar’s wife, and took care as soon as possible to entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty, and when besides this favour I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.” So much for the Jewish historian. We see with Poppea, as with Mary of England and Philip of Spain, it depends for the side-lights of their character whether the historian be a Roman Catholic or a Protestant.

It redounds to the credit of Roman statesmanship, that whilst Vespasian and Titus were carrying on war to the knife with Little Jewry in Jerusalem, Greater Jewry in Rome, or elsewhere out of Palestine, had little to complain of. The rights and liberties of the Roman Jews, both in the metropolis and in the empire, were not sensibly abridged. One might have observed the same occurrence in modern days with the British Gauls in Canada, notwithstanding that Britain and France were engaged in mortal combat which culminated at Waterloo, yet no Canadian French-speaking Gauls ever lost any of their rights and privileges as British citizens. Perhaps in their heart of hearts the French-Canadian might have felt a pang at the report that those who were living in the land which was the cradle of their race, were fallen from their high estate. Perhaps the Jews in Rome may

have felt like the English did in the Transvaal, or South Africa, after the disaster at Majuba Hill, when every Boer urchin used to skriek after an Englishman, "Verdamter Englander, we've licked you!" And so, no doubt, many a Roman urchin, at the triumph of Titus, might have shouted in the Forum, "Verdamter Jew, we've licked you!" But just as the Englishman felt instinctively that the scheme and influences of the Greater Britain would in the end permeate South Africa, so the Roman-Jew instinctively felt, even when Little Jewry was put an end to, that his Amen, Hossana and Alleluia might survive the chants to Jupiter, and perhaps take their place. Time was on his side, and his defence of Jerusalem was sufficiently valorous to make him feel that though the temporal power was vanquished, his military honour was not lost, and, strange to say, although the Jewish citizens of the Roman empire seem to have felt that the Temple, and perhaps Mount Zion and its ritual might have been saved had there been a timely concession to Rome, deeply as their hearts were seared at the loss of the Temple and its sacred associations, very few regretted the abolition of the mere temporal power in Palestine. They felt now that the taunt that the Jews had a dual allegiance, one to Rome and another to Jerusalem, was over, and the best they hoped for was that perhaps ultimately they might regain the right to rebuild their central place of worship, where in time all the world might make pilgrimages to Mount Zion; but few practical Roman Jews ever seemed to wish for a renewed Herodian monarchy for Little Jewry.

There appears to have been at this period very many Romans who deeply sympathised with the aims and objects of Greater Jewry outside Palestine. These Romans

were divided into three classes. (1). Those who sympathised with and respected the ethics of the Jews were called the righteous. (2). Those that went a step further and attended the reading of Scripture and chanting the Psalms were called the pious. (3). Those that, absolutely in communion, entered into the Abrahamic covenant and were called proselytes of righteousness.

In the authorized prayer book of the Jews is a litany probably composed about the reign of Titus, which best shows the inner sentiment of the Jews at the period of the Flavian dynasty. It reads thus: Towards the righteous, towards the pious, towards the presbyters of thy people, the house of Israel, towards the remnant of their scribes, towards the proselytes of righteousness, and towards us also may thy tender mercies be stirred. O Lord our God, grant a good reward unto all who faithfully trust in Thy name; set our portion with them for ever, so that we may not be put to shame because we have trusted in Thee. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the stay and trust of all the righteous.

The enormous infusion of Jewish Palestinian blood into the *disjecta membra* of the Greater Jewry was, as we previously pointed out, the rejuvenation of the Jewish race everywhere throughout the Roman Empire, and perhaps the greatest boon that ever happened to this people. One might venture to speculate upon the problem that, were it not for the destruction of the temporal power and the dispersion and denationalisation of Little Jewry, the same result might have happened to the Israel of Rome that we find with the remnant of the Jews now in China.

The following inscriptions are from tombs in the catacombs of the Jews, from about the period of Julius Cæsar to about the third century, or pre-Christian Rome:—

1. Here lies Irene Parthenike, wife of Clodius, brother of Quintus Claudius Synesius, father of the Campensian Synagogue in Rome. The word Shalom שלום* (peace) in Hebrew. *All the rest is written in Greek.*

2. To her worthy and well-beloved husband, Aurelius Hermiatius, his wife, Julia Afrodisia, has erected this, and begs that a place may be retained so that she may be put by the side of him when she ceases to live. *This is a Latin inscription.*

3. Here lies Asterias, the pious and irreproachable father of the Synagogue—Rest in Peace.

4. To his parents, Asterius the Gerusiarch, and to Lucina, his mother, the Archont. Asterius has erected this.

5. To Aurelia Camerina, the good and well bred wife with whom he lived 17 years, Sempronius Basileus has erected this. To the well deserving wife, may her rest be in peace.

6. To Abundantius, who was seventeen years of age. He was well deserving, and Cocotia, who was also called Judas, who grew up with him and worked side by side with him, has erected this—In peace may he rest.

7. To Aelia Septima, the very dear and well deserving mother, Aelia Alexandria has erected this—*Concludes with an S., abbreviation for Shalom, Hebrew, = peace, but the whole is in Latin.*

8. To Aelia, the well deserved, Procles has erected this. She lived 82 years and 10 months.

9. To Aemilia Theodora, Aurelius Bassus has erected this.

10. To Agathus, the well deserving son, who lived 15 years. Aurelius Joses and Aurelia Auguria have erected this.

11. Here lies Agentia, she was only married once, and lived together with her young husband nine years.

12. To Agrius Evangelus, the well deserving colleague of Reginus.

13. To Alexander, the subsequent Archont to his dear child, Alexander, the revered Archont.

14. To Alexander, sausage maker (Bubularius) of Macello, who lived 80 years; an honest soul, everybody's friend. May he rest among the pious.

15. Alypis Tiberius and his sons, Justus and Alypis, the Hebrews, rest here with their father.

* Only a few tombs are minutely described, the majority being translations of the verbal inscriptions only.

16. Here lies Amachius, who was also Primus. Let the memory of the righteous be a blessing. The words of praise to him are true indeed.

17. Here lies Ammias, Jewess from Laodicea, who lived 85 years.

18. Here lies Annianus, the young Archont, 8 years and 2 months old; son of Julianus, father of the Synagogue of the Campensians.

19. To the wife, Appidia Lea, L'Domitius Abbas and her daughter, Domitia Felicitas, have erected this.

20. To his mother, Asclephiodote; and to his brother, Alexander the Archont, Constans has erected this.

21. To Asius, the ten years old child.

22. To Aurelia Helenete, his well deserving wife, Aurelius Alexander has erected this.

23. To Aurelia Flavia, his well deserving wife, Jonata, the reverend Archont, has erected this.

24. To Aurelia Quintitia, her dearest and well beloved mother, who lived 60 years and five months, Aurelia Protogenia has erected this.

25. To Aurelia Mara, the worthy and very dear child, Polycarp, her father, and Crescentine, her mother.

26. Here lies Aurelia Zotike, — years old. Her grandchild, Fronto, has erected this.

27. Beturia Paulla, removed to the everlasting house, 86 years and 6 months old; 16 years she lived as a proselyte. She was mother of the Synagogue of Campus and Bolumnus.

28. To Castricius the Grammateus, his wife Julia has erected this to her well-deserved husband.

29. Here lies Centulia, daughter of Ursacius.

30. To Sister Chryside, the very sweet proselyte, erected by Manacius. Her rest be peace.

31. Here lies Constantinus the child.

32. In peace be the sleep of Cossutius, who lived 21 years and 6 months. His brothers have erected this.

33. Crispina, daughter of Procopius, industrious and law-loving, lies here.

34. To his brother Decembris, Justus has erected this.

35. To the blameless Deuterus of the Synagogue. To Deuterus, the excellent Grammateus, Dulcis has erected this.

36. Here lies Doreis.

37. To Dulcitia, the youthful bride, Pancharius the Gerusiarch has erected this.

38. Here is placed Eparchia Theosibes, who lived 55 years and 6 days.

39. Here lies the artist (painter) Eudoxius. In peace be thy sleep.

40.

41. To Elogius, his very dear son, and his grandson Socus.

42. To the very dear mother, Eulogia, who lived 81 years, Castus, her son, and Sabinus, her grandson, have erected this.

43. To her son Eutychetes, who lived 19 years, his mother, Afrodisia, has erected this.

44. Here lies Eutychianus, the Archont, a worthy husband. Be comforted; he rests among the righteous.

45. Here lies Faustina. (*Shalom in Hebrew.*)

46. Faustinus, the baby, lies here. Son of Alexis.

47. Here lies Flavia Antonina, wife of Dativus, Presbyter of the Synagogue of Augustus.

48. To Flavia Caritine, the well-deserved, Flavia Dativa has erected this. (*A pair of clasped hands.*)

49. To Flavia Vitaline, the well-deserving wife, Cocianus, has erected this.

50. To her father, Flavius Julianus, the Synagogue Inspector, his daughter, Flavia Juliana.

51. Here lie two daughters of the father of the Hebrews, Gadia.

52. Here lies Gaius, the pious Prostates; he lived 72 years of age.

53. To the well-deserved husband, Gaius, Antonina and her son has erected this.

54. To Gargiglia Eufraxia, his dear wife, Ch***, her husband, has recorded this. She lived 19 years, 3 months, and 12 days. She was well deserving, and merited not so untimely an end.

55. To Gemellina, the child; lived 1 year and 11 months, Victor, the Grammateus, has erected this.

56. ***gogue of the Rhodians.

57. To her husband, Imerus, the well-deserving Mounna, or public trustee, Julia Alexandra has erected this.

58. Here lies Jocathinus, the young Archont.
59. Here lies Joses, the sweet infant, 2 years and 8 days old. Procopius, the father, and Crispina, the mother, ask the prayers of the passers-by for peace in his sleep.
60. To Irenetia, their daughter, who lived only 2 years, her parents, Fortunatia and Justa, have erected this.
61. Here lies Judas, a promising Grammateus, aged 25.
62. Here lies Judas, the child.
63. Here lies the child Judas, son of the Grammateus Salutius.
64. To her daughter, Julia, aged 34, Polla erected this.
65. To his mother, Julia, her son, Castricius, has erected this.
66. Console thyself, Julia Æmilia, only 40 years old. Well hast thou cared for thy loving husband, and he is grateful to thy soul for it.
67. Here lies Julianus, the Priest Archont, and son of the Archisynagogus, Julianus.
68. To Justus, the Grammateus, 37 years old—a loving son, father, and loving brother Maron, twice Archont, has erected this.
69. Isodorus Eterus.
70. To his adopted one, Justus, Menandros has erected this.
71. Pure and spotless Klaudius Propinquius, of the Synagogue of **** and Epiphania, her son, who lived 23 years and 6 months.
72. Klaudius, son of Joses, Archont, lived 35 years.
73. **** lies Leontius, son of Leontius.
74. Lucilla, the blessed, the pride of Sophronius.
75. Lucinus.
76. Valerius, the Archont, has erected this to Lucretia, his wife. She was 23 years old.
77. Here lies Magna Petronia, wife of Oronatus, aged 45.
78. Here lies Maria; she fulfilled 55 years.
79. Marcellus and his wife, Successa, have erected this to their dear daughter, Marcella.
80. Here lies the child, Marcellus.
81. Marcia, the good Jewess.
82. To Marcia, his dear wife, erected by Ælianus.
83. The dear child, Maria, lies here; daughter of Procopius.
84. Marcus Quintus Alexis, Grammateus of the Augustines, and afterwards Archont of the Synagogue of Augustus.
85. Here lies Mardeploos, 80 years of age.

86. Here lies Margarita, who lived 19 years, and with her husband 4 years.

87. To Maro, her husband, and Justus, to his father, he and Maria have erected this.

88. To the sweetest mother, Melition, age 29 years, her daughter, Dulcilia, has erected this.

89. Here lies Minaseas, pupil of the wise, and father of the Synagogue (*Pater Synagogæ*).

90. Nepia Marosa; lived 4 years.

91. Here lies Nicodemus, Archont of the Siburesians, beloved by everybody; aged 30 years and 42 days.

92. Here lies the virgin, Nometora, aged 18 years.

93. To her adopted child, Notus, aged 27, Alexandra Severa has inscribed this. He assisted her with his works during his lifetime.

94. Numenius, the Grammateus.

95. Numenius, the child, lies here.

96. Here lies Onoratus, the young Grammateus, son of Rufus, the Archont; he lived 6 years and 28 days.

97. Here lies Onoratus, the blameless Grammateus, aged 70 years, 8 months, and 12 days. Rufus, the Archont, to his amiable father.

98. Oproman lies here.

99. Here lies Pancharius, father of the Velian Synagogue, aged 110 years. He led a good life, was a philanthropist, and a friend of all mankind.

100. Here lies Parthenos among the righteous.

101. Here lies Parthenicus, son of Clodius, brother of Quintus Claudius Synesius, father of the Synagogue of the Campensians in Rome.

102. To Petronius, the Grammateus, the pure one, aged 23 years, 4 months and 8 days, Onoratus, the father, a Grammateus, and Petronia, his mother, have inscribed this.

103. To Petronius, the Grammateus.

104. Here lies Poeminis, the blameless one; she lived 96 years, 1 month and 18 days.

105. Here lies Probus, a child that loved his father and mother, age 2 years, 1 month, 13 days.

106. Here lies Primitiva and her grandchild Euphrenon.

107. Here lies Quintianus, Gerusiarch of the Synagogue of Augustus, age 54.

108. Here lies Quintiane, age 26.

109. Here lies Quirinus Judæus, age 44.

110. To her brother, Renatus, Sabbatia has erected this.

111, 111A. Here lies Roman Amen, a pious child, and Rufilla Pietas, who, together with Celerina, lived 3 years, 4 months and 15 days.

112. To Sabbatius, his son, Gaius has erected this.

113. To Sabbatis, daughter of Vibeæ, 13 years old.

114. Sabbatis, the wife of Leo, lies here; 27 years old.

115. To his dear daughter, Sabbatis, only 3 years old, her father, Lucius ****.

115A. Here lies Sabbatis, twice Archont, age 35.

116. To his daughter, Sabina, age 16, Pardus has erected this.

117. Here lies Sabina. She loved her husband, and was a friend to all.

118. To his well-deserving wife, Sabine, age 18 years and 3 days, Germanus has inscribed this to his most perfect wife, who lived 3 years and 3 days in a blissful union.

119. To the Archont and Archisynagogus Safulus, who worthily filled every honorable post, Restitua has erected this to her well-deserving husband.

120. Salbius, a child, aged 7 years.

121. Here lies Salome, age 10 years and 1 month, daughter of Gadia, father of the Synagogue of the Hebrews.

122, 122A. Salpingius, a tender child. Here lies Semoel, a young child, 1 year and 2 months old. Be comforted, Samuel; no one is immortal.

123. Here lies Sarra, with her son.

124. To his sweet mother, Severa, her son Severus has erected this.

125. Simon ***icus, *** son.

126. Here lies Simplicea, mater Synagogæ. She dearly loved her husband, who was also pater Synagogæ.

127. Here lies Synelice, daughter of Ursacius.

128. Here lies Theophilus, the Gerusiarch, after an exemplary life and beautiful reputation, his sons, Theophilus and Eusebius, have perpetuated the memory of their very dear father.

129. Here lie Tobias Barzaarona; also Pareiorius, son of Tobias Barzaarona. (*Repeated both in Latin and Greek*).

130. Throphina, a most agreeable daughter, age 1 year and 10 months—Throphinus has beautifully inscribed this.

131. To Tullius Irenæus, her well-beloved husband, Ælia Patricia, has erected this. He is gone to everlasting life.

132. ***te, the incomparable Tyresia, Profutura has erected this.

133. To the well-deserving Ulpia Marina, age 32.

134. Here lies Ursacia, daughter of the Gerusiarch, Ursacius, of Aquilega.

135. Here lies Ursus, the Grammateus, age 22 years and two *years* and 3 months—to the memory of a bridegroom.

136. To their dear daughter, Valeria, aged 5 years, 10 months, and 4 days. Valerius and Simonis, parents, have erected this.

137. Veneroso, aged 17; married only 15 months.

138. Verecundus, the darling child, lies here.

139. Vitalius, the Grammateus, lies here, aged 8 years and 14 days.

140. Zabuttas, son of the Archont Zabuttas.

141. Grave of Vesala (*locus*). She departed this life aged 25.

142. Here lies Zozimus, and gone to everlasting life; Archont of the Synagogue of the Agrippans. Also Eullis, Archont; — years.

143. Zoticus, the Archont, lies here, after a beautiful life; dear to all and friend to all; known to everyone for his virtue, his manliness, and his ability.

144. *****, the philanthropist. He loved righteousness and the poor.

145. Eusebius Nev***, pious and steadfast lawyer; aged ** years.

146. Cattia Ammias, daughter of Menophilos, pater Synagogæ of the Carcaresians; lived as a faithful Jewess with her husband for 34 years, and of his children she saw the grandchildren. Here lies Cattia Ammia (*presumably her husband was a non-Jew, and may have been one of the so-called Phoboumenoi ton Theon*).*

* I have invariably made use of Dr. Berliner's versions of the Roman Jewish epitaphs.

RECAPITULATION.

There are now five ancient Jewish cemeteries that have been excavated—

1. In the year 1602, in the Monte Verde, near the Porta Portuensis, Bosio discovered one, and details are given in his *Roma Sotteranea*, page 191.

2. On 1st May, 1859, Father Garrucci excavated a very large Jewish cemetery in the Via Appia, and has written a valuable work: *Cemetero degli antichi Ebrei scoperto recentemente un Vigna Randanini*, 1862.

3. The third discovery was in the vineyard of Count Cimarra, and a full account is given in the *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1867. No. 1.

4. A fourth cemetery was found in the Via Labicana, dating from the Antonine period. This discovery was in 1883, and the credit is due to Prof. Orazio Marruchi, and he works out full particulars and details in a treatise called: *Di un nuovo cimitero guidaico scoperta sulla Via Labicana*, 1887.

5. In 1885 Dr. N. Muller found another cemetery in the Via Appia Pignatelli, but as yet he has only given a short paper on the subject, "In den Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Instituts," Band 1, S. 49-56; but we hope to have more information on some important points revealed in inscriptions now for the very first time.—Rénan and the Abbé Perreau have attached the highest historical importance to these discoveries.

EXPRESSIONS USED.

1. Gerusiarch. We find the term used in inscription 107. Quintianus Gerusiarch, of the Synagogue of Augustus; likewise Asterius, Ursacius Theophilus, Pancharius, these are all described as Gerusiarchs. These were the chief of the Gerusia, or council, which each Synagogue appointed to direct its secular affairs.

2. Archont—he was the executive officer to carry out the decrees of the Gerusia, and to inquire into the needs of the poor.

3. Archisynagogus was the chief presbyter, who was responsible for the religious services.

4. Pater Synagogæ, his function was to look after the sick and dying, to superintend the burial services, and to console the bereaved.

Mater Synagogæ had similar functions, so far as regards women, but she had also to look after orphan girls, as well as poor maidens who were about to get married, and to help them with material comfort and advice.

5. Euperetes, or Inspector, his office was to be attached in all functions to the archisynagogus and pater Synagogæ; they were generally men of legal training, to see that no rite or ceremony should infringe the Roman laws.

6. Grammateus, Nepios, and Mello-grammateus were lawyers and students attached to the congregation.

7. Nomomathes, and

8. Madethes Sophon were men, eloquent and learned in the law, and students who could speak as well as teach.

9. Prostates; in Latin, Patronus. We find this term in inscription 52 (Here lies Gaius, the pious prostates; he lived 72 years). His office was to act as the legate from the Synagogue to the Roman Government; he was recognised by both as the official medium to conduct negotiations between the Synagogue and the State.

10. Praefectus, or Mounna, he was the trustee of the Synagogue, in whom was vested the property of the community; and probably acted as general public trustee for the entire congregation, individually as well as collectively.

SYNAGOGUES.

We find by dint of these inscriptions evidence of the site of synagogues, their existence hitherto being merely traditionary folklore.

1. The Synagogue of Augustus.—The spot is supposed to be occupied now by the Church of Salvatore. Lately, in dredging the Tiber near the Porta Settimiana, a tablet was found bearing the name of JASON DIS ARCHON, evidently being a portion detached from the walls of the Synagogue of Augustus, and in memory of the Archon JASON.

2. The Synagogue of the Agrippans, probably named after Marcus Agrippa, a Roman Governor, and a benefactor of the Jews. Josephus mentions this incident in his *Antiquities*, xvi, 2, 3.

3. Synagogue Campus was situated in the Campius Martius, and is often mentioned in epitaphs, therefore it seems to have been an important congregation.

4. The Synagogue Campus and Bolumnus. We often find the names of two districts attached to a synagogue. The inference seems to be by experienced archæologists, that the Bolumnus Synagogue may have become impoverished, joined or amalgamated with a sister synagogue, and incorporated the name of the former community.

5. Synagogue of the Siburesians was situated in the old district of Suburra, the centre of the commercial world of the old Romans, like Lombard Street in London, or Castle Street, Liverpool. The synagogue was also known as the Synagogue of the Emperor Severus, probably in memory of his benefactions. This emperor bore the nickname in Rome of Archisynagogus, from his friendly disposition to the Jews; just like the anti-Semites in our day nicknamed the late Emperor Frederick of Germany the Emperor of the Jews.

6. The Synagogue of Velia. This was situated near the Palatine Hill.

7. The Synagogue of the Hebrews.—So called because it was the place of worship founded by Little Jewry from Jerusalem, and those who could speak neither Latin nor Greek; and it was probably also the place of worship of Samaritans, numbers of whom lived in Rome. They called themselves Hebrews, and not Jews, because they were not of Jewish blood. This synagogue was *extra muros*, outside the Portuensis gate.

8. The Synagogue of the Calcarians, situated near the Circus Maximus.

9. The Synagogue of the Rhodians. We are unable to trace the *locale* of this community, although it seems to have been a very important one.

These appear to be the important Synagogues referred to in the inscriptions from the catacombs, but there is good evidence to show that there may have been more than a hundred meeting-houses (or chapels, as we should term them now) all over the city, branches of the various important synagogues. The population of the Jews in the Roman metropolis has been variously estimated—some say 80,000; others estimate the number as high as 125,000, but the probable number would be between the various conflicting statements. It would be safer to consider from 90,000 to 100,000 the probable Jewish population of the capital of the Empire.

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

7  OCT 02 1989

Callahan

10/11/89

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 006 146 5

